

## Message Text

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ACTION ARA-10

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FM AMEMBASSY LIMA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9679

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 LIMA 3289

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, PE

SUBJECT: MORALES BERMUDEZ' SPEECH - BENCHMARK FOR THE REVOLUTION'S  
"MODIFIED" SECOND PHASE

SUMMARY: IN APRIL 6 COMMUNIQUE THE REVOLUTIONARY JUNTA AND COUNCIL OF MINISTERS UNANIMOUSLY SUPPORTED AND FULLY IDENTIFIED THEMSELVES WITH MORALES BERMUDEZ' MARCH 31 ADDRESS TO THE NATION. COMMUNIQUE TERMED MESSAGE BASIS FOR SUBSEQUENT FORMULATION OF SPECIFIC POLITICAL PROGRAM AND PLEDGED MINISTERS TO CARRY OUT THAT PROGRAM WITHIN PARAMETERS OF PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS. REACTION TO SPEECH FROM NON-GOVERNMENTAL GROUPS IS VARIED. THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE REVOLUTION'S OWN POLITICAL ORGANIZATION EXPRESSED THINLY VEILED CRITICISM. THE ACCION POPULAR PARTY AND OTHER MORE CONSERVATIVE ELEMENTS WERE ALSO CRITICAL. YET IMPORTANT MODERATE GROUPS SUPPORT BASIC THRUST OF SPEECH. THEIR ATTITUDE, ADDED TO GOP PUBLIC UNITY STATEMENT, MAY EASE PRESSURE ON MORALES BERMUDEZ FROM MILITARY DISSIDENTS AND MAY FORESTALL OR DELAY CABINET CHANGES OR POSSIBLE COUP. ALL WILL BE WAITING FOR CONCRETE MEASURES TO GAUGE THE GOVERNMENT'S FUTURE COURSE. END SUMMARY.

1. THE IMPORTANCE OF MORALES BERMUDEZ' SPEECH AND ITS STATUS AS A NEW BENCHMARK FOR THE SECOND PHASE OF THE REVOLUTION WAS UNDERLINED BY AN APRIL 6 COMMUNIQUE OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS. THE COMMUNIQUE DECLARES THAT THE REVOLUTIONARY JUNTA AND ALL MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS, INCLUDING INDIVIDUALS HOLDING  
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MINISTERIAL RANK(SUCH AS CHIEF OF SOCIAL PROPERTY COMMISSION ANGEL DE LA CASES). UNANIMOUSLY SUPPORT AND "FULLY IDENTIFY WITH" THE

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS TO THE NATION. FURTHERMORE THE JUNTA AND CABINET "CONSIDER THE CONTENT OF THE MESSAGE TO BE THE POLITICAL ORDER OF THE PRESIDENT FOR THE FORMULATION OF THE GOVERNMENT PLAN IN THE SECOND PHASE OF THE REVOLUTION". FINALLY THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS PLEDGED THEMSELVES TO CARRY OUT THE REVOLUTIONARY PROGRAM WITHIN THE POLITICAL OUTLINE SET FORTH IN THE PRESIDENTIAL MESSAGE.

2. COMMENT: THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS RESOLUTION IS CLEARLY INTENDED TO DEMONSTRATE RENEWED INSTITUTIONAL UNITY OF ARMED FORCES AND GOVERNMENT. IF A COMPARISON OF MORALES BERMUDEZ' SPEECH WITH A MORE RADICAL MARCH 30 SPEECH OF PRIME MINISTER FERNANDEZ MALDONADO LEFT DOUBTS REGARDING THE REVOLUTION'S POLITICAL PATH, THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS APPARENTLY INTENDS TO END THOSE DOUBTS

ALL ARE (AT LEAST FORMALLY) IN ACCORD WITH THE MORALES BERMUDEZ APPROACH, DESCRIBED IN THE REORGANIZED EXPRESO AS OUTLINING A POLICY OF MODERATION AND GRADUALISM. END COMMENT.

3. EXTRA-GOVERNMENTAL REACTION TO SPEECH IS NOW BEING EXPRESSED. THE NATURE OF THAT REACTION WILL BE WEIGHED BY THOSE IN THE ARMED FORCES WHO EXERTED PRESSURE FOR CHANGE AND MAY WELL INFLUENCE THEIR NEXT STEPS. REACTIONS OF SELECTED POLITICAL AND SOCIAL GROUPS FOLLOW.

4. COMMUNIST PARTY -- THE PCPE ISSUED AN APRIL 5 COMMUNIQUE WARNING OF A COORDINATED COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY OFFENSIVE LAUNCHED BY IMPERIALISTS, REACTIONARIES, APRA AND BELAUNDISTAS. THE COMMUNIST PARTY NOTED THAT "REPRESENTATIVES OF IMPERIALISM PARADED THROUGH PERU IN FEBRUARY AND MARCH TO EXERT EVERY MANNER OF PRESSURE AGAINST PERU". THIS ACTIVITY AND THE "VIOLENTLY AGGRESSIVE" MACHINATIONS OF THE "RIGHT" WORKING FROM WITHIN AND WITHOUT THE GOVERNMENT, RESULTED IN, ACCORDING TO THE PCP, THE DELIVERY OF THE PRESS INTO THE HANDS OF "THOSE WHO CONSPIRE AGAINST THE (REVOLUTIONARY) PROCESS". AVOIDING DIRECT CRITICISM OF MORALES BERMUDEZ, THE PCP ALLUDED TO CERTAIN FORMULATIONS IN HIS SPEECH WHICH "ENCOURAGE THE RIGHT". THE PARTY REJECTED ACCUSATIONS IN THE SPEECH THAT COMMUNISTS INTENDED TO DISTORT THE REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS, AND THE PCP REFERRED TO POLITICALLY UNJUSTIFIED REMARKS CONCERNING

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CONDITIONS IN SOCIALIST COUNTRIES. THE PCP COMMUNIQUE WARNED AGAINST LOSING SIGHT OF THE REVOLUTION'S PRINCIPAL ENEMIES, IMPERIALISM AND THE OLIGARCHY. THE PCP REACTED TO EMPHASIS MORALES BERMUDEZ PLACED ON THE VAGUE "IDEOLOGICAL BASES" (NATIONALISM, HUMANISM, AND CHRISTIAN THOUGHT, WITHIN PLURALIST AND PARTICIPATIONIST

FORMS) AND HIS FAILURE TO DEFEND THE DRAFT PLAN TUPAC AMARU. THE PCP CALLED FOR COMMITMENT TO A POLITICAL PLAN WHICH WILL "ADVANCE" THE REVOLUTION. FINALLY, THE PARTY PLEDGED TO AID THE GOVERNMENT IN COMBATING "FASCIST TENDENCIES".

5. CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY -- THE PDC PREFACED ITS FAVORABLE ANALYSIS OF THE SPEECH WITH LONG DISCOURSE ON DANGERS OF COMMUNISM AND DENUNCIATION OF COMMUNIST STRATEGY TO TAKE OVER THE REVOLUTION THROUGH CONTROL OF THE PRESS, NURTURE OF AN "INFILTRATED" REVOLUTIONARY POLITICAL ORGANIZATION, AND MANIPULATION OF SOCIAL PROPERTY AND OTHER ECONOMIC MEASURES LEADING TO STATE OWNERSHIP. THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS THEN LAUDED MORALES BERMUDEZ' SPEECH FOR ITS EMPHASIS ON CHRISTIAN SOCIAL DOCTRINE AND ITS DECLARATION THAT THE REVOLUTIONARY GUIDE WAS THE "CROSS, SYMBOL OF CHRIST". THE PDC CALLED FOR FURTHER CLARIFICATION OF ECONOMIC GOALS AND DEFENDED THE COOPERATIVE CONCEPT AGAINST THAT OF SOCIAL PROPERTY.

6. ACCION POPULAR -- IN A PRESS INTERVIEW THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF AP PARTY BLASTED THE SPEECH AND CRITICIZED MORALES BERMUDEZ FOR A "POLICY OF WORDS, MANY WORDS, BUT NO DEEDS". DR. JOSE MARIA DE LA JARA ALLEGED THAT THE GRAVE ERRORS ADMITTED BY MORALES BERMUDEZ WOULD HAVE RESULTED IN CENSURE (WERE GOVERNMENT NOT IN MILITARY HANDS). THE AP SPOKESMAN CALLED FOR FREE ELECTIONS AND NOT AN ILL-DEFINED REFERENDUM (MORALES BERMUDEZ HAD PROMISED A REFERENDUM TO GUAGE POPULAR SUPPORT "ONE DAY IN THE NOT-DISTANT FUTURE").

7. CONFEDERATION OF PERUVIAN WORKERS -- THE APRA-ORIENTED CTP TRADE UNION PRAISED THE SPEECH GENERALLY BUT ASKED FOR FURTHER CLARIFICATION OF MORALES BERMUDEZ' REFERENCE TO A NEW CONSTITUTION AND TO THE METHOD OF TRANSFERRING POWER FROM THE MILGOV BACK TO THE PEOPLE. THE CTP APPLAUDED MORALES BERMUDEZ' ATTACK ON THE MARXIST LEFT AND CALLED FOR IMPLMENETATION OF THAT EXPRESSED POLICY THROUGH "CONTROL OF (COMMUNIST) INFILTRATIONS". THE TRADE UNION WELCOMED MORALES BERMUDEZ' CONFIRMATION OF THE IMPOR-  
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TANCE OF THE COOPERATIVE SECTOR AND HIS "GUARANTEE THAT SOCIAL PROPERTY WILL NOT DOMINATE".

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ACTION ARA-10

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 LIMA 3289

8. FRONT FOR THE DEFENSE OF THE REVOLUTION -- MORALES BERMUDEZ IN THE PAST SEVERAL MONTHS HAD TREATED THE FDRP AS THE PEOPLE'S REPRESENTATIVE IN THE "ARMED FORCES AND PEOPLE UNITED" COALITION. THE PRESIDENT'S TWO-HOUR ADDRESS SIGNIFICANTLY FAILED TO MENTION THE FDRP. ON APRIL 5 FDRP HAD AVELINO MAR (WHO IS LINKED TO REVOLUTIONARY RADICALS) DECLARED THAT THE SPEECH WAS BEING MISINTERPRETED AND USED BY THE COUNTER-REVOLUTION TO "INTENSIFY DESTABILIZING EFFORTS". AVELINO MAR CALLED FOR PROTECTION OF THE SOCIAL PROPERTY SECTOR AND HE PROCLAIMED THE NEED TO DEFEND THE "SOCIALIST STRUCTURE AND PARTICIPATIONIST NATURE OF THE REVOLUTION". HE IMPORED STUDENTS, WORKERS, MILITARY AND OTHERS TO AID IN FIGHT AGAINST THE COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY OFFENSIVE.

9. REACTION OF BUSINESS SECTOR TO SPEECH IS LIMITED TO DATE BUT APRIL 7 PRESS CARRIED REPRESENTATIVE COMMENT OF AN INDUSTRIALIST THAT PRESIDENT'S SPEECH HAD "RAISED HOPES" OF BUSINESSMEN.

10. COMMENT: COMMUNIST AND MORE RADICAL REVOLUTIONARY MILITANTS ON THE LEFT INDICATED GRAVE CONCERN WITH POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS OF SPEECH. THE AP PARTY AND SOME PRESS COMMENTATORS ON RIGHT ARE ALSO CRITICAL FOR QUITE DIFFERENT REASONS. YET THE SPEECH HAS BEEN WELCOMED BY GROUPS REPRESENTING MODERATE ELEMENTS WITHIN THE REVOLUTIONARY CAMP AND AMONG INFLUENTIAL TRADITIONAL, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL GROUPS. MORE IMPORTANTLY,  
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THE JUNTA AND CABINET DECLARATION OF UNIFIED SUPPORT MAY SIGNIFY A COMMITMENT OF GOP LEADERS TO PLACE INSTITUTIONAL INTEGRITY ABOVE IDEOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES, OR AT LEAST TO PAPER OVER THE DIFFERENCES), AND TO FORMALIZE A MOVEMENT BY THE GOP BACK TOWARD THE IDEOLOGICAL CENTER. IF THE LEADERSHIP IS SINCERE IN THIS EFFORT, PRESSURE FOR IMMEDIATE CABINET CHANGES OR REMOVAL OF MORALES BERMUDEZ HIMSELF MAY EASE. HOWEVER, ALL SECTORS WILL BE WATCHING CLOSELY FOR THE CONCRETE ACTIONS OF THE GOP OVER THE NEXT DAYS AND WEEKS. WE BELIEVE THAT CONTINUED VIGILANCE AND PRESSURE BY MODERATE-CENTRIST ELEMENTS WILL BE THE KEY TO WHETHER THE MORALES BERMUDEZ GOVERNMENT KEEPS TO THE

COURSE HIS MARCH 31 SPEECH SIGNALLED.

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